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also were derived.¹⁹ And even if the source from which these scenarios were derived should be found, unless it provided material which is used in *The Tempest* and which does not appear in the scenarios, I should still think it more than probable that it was from the commedia dell' arte performances that Shakespeare derived the scheme of his play.

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A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH ANALOGUE OF *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

The *Comedia del Degollado*, composed in four acts and in verse, by the Sevillian poet and dramatist Juan de la Cueva was first performed at Seville in the year 1579.¹ A brief analysis of the plot shows that this play deals with romantic incidents frequently found in sixteenth-century comedy and fiction. Arnaldo, a young officer, sets at liberty the Moor Chichivali, whom he had captured in a skirmish, on condition that the ransom money be sent to him within a certain time. Chichivali returns in person with the ransom and ill repays his captor's generosity by abducting Celia, Arnaldo's sweetheart, when dressed as a page she was about to attend a dinner offered by Arnaldo to certain other ladies. Arnaldo, heartbroken by the news of Celia's abduction, is carried off in another boat by one of Chichivali's companions, and the lovers meet at the court of the Moorish king. Chichivali finds it impossible to preserve the secret of Celia's disguise, and discloses her identity to the young Moorish prince, who at once becomes a rival

¹⁹ Benedetto Croce suggested that "Shakespeare must have taken the name Trinculo from a Neapolitan drinking-song, and quoted an old *ritornello* in that dialect in support of his view:—

Tríncule míncule
spilli e spillone . . ."

L. C-M. in the *Athenum* for March 20, 1915. This is the only review in English of Neri's book, so far as I am aware.

¹ This play is included in the first volume of the *Comedias y tragedias de Juan de la Cueva, publicadas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1917, with an introduction by Francisco A. de Icaza. This publication is based upon the second edition, Seville, 1588, of the *Primera parte de las comedias y tragedias de Ioan de la Cueva*.

of Chichivali for her love. When Chichivali tries to force his attentions upon her, Arnaldo intervenes, kills Chichivali, and is condemned to death, in spite of Celia's protestations, in order to save her lover, that she has committed the deed.

In the third act, Celia begs the Prince to intervene in behalf of Arnaldo, and he agrees to do so on condition that she yield herself to him, a proposal which she rejects indignantly, declaring that she would prefer death. The Prince then relents and asks the jailer in what way Arnaldo's life may be spared, and the jailer finally suggests that a substitution be made, and that the head of another prisoner be sent to the King as evidence of Arnaldo's death. This substitution is effected, the head is brought to the King and deceives him as well as the Prince and Celia. The Prince upbraids the jailer for his disobedience, but is satisfied when he hears the jailer's explanation :

Quando a pedirme vinieron
 Justicia y verdugo el preso,
 Cumpli tu mandado expreso
 Luego que en la carcel fueron.
 Otro que le parecia,
 Preso, y tambien sentenciado,
 Aquél les vue entregado
 Por el que se me pedia.
 Ayudó la sombra obscura
 A mi hecho, y desta suerte
 Al otro dieron la muerte,
 Y a Arnaldo libró ventura.
 Allí lo tengo, señor;
 Mira qué mandas que haga;
 Que lo que te satisfaga
 Hare, qual tu servidor.

Arnaldo is introduced as proof of this statement, and the Prince bids him conceal himself. Although the Prince has saved Arnaldo, he has not abandoned his desire to gain possession of Celia. The latter bitterly reproaches him for breaking his word, and the Prince promises to present Arnaldo alive to her if she will yield herself to him. Celia, confident that Arnaldo is really dead, agrees to this proposal, and is forthwith confronted with Arnaldo. She is overjoyed at the sight of him, and then is rudely reminded by the Prince of her promise. Arnaldo declares that he far prefers death to Celia's dishonor, the Prince relents on seeing this evidence of their love, and promises to send them home.

The last two acts of this play offer certain analogies with the fifth novel of the eighth decade of Giraldi Cinthio's *Gli Hecatombithi*, first published in 1565. Here a youth of Innsbruck named Vieo is arrested for seducing a young girl, and is condemned to death by Iuriste, the Governor. Vieo's sister, Epitia, pleads with the Governor for her brother's life, alleging as excuse for his act his love for the girl and his willingness to marry her. Iuriste is inspired with passion for Epitia, and consents to free Vieo on condition that she yield herself to him, making to her at the same time a vague promise of marriage. Epitia is horrified by this proposal, and takes counsel with her brother in prison, who begs her to make this sacrifice for him. She finally consents to Iuriste's proposal, but the latter, before satisfying his desire, gives orders for the execution of Vieo, and on the following day sends her brother to her, not alive, but dead. At first Epitia determines to kill her violator, but later decides to demand justice from the Emperor Massimiano. When the Emperor hears her story he summons Iuriste, confronts him with Epitia, obtains from him a confession of his guilt, and orders that he first marry Epitia and then be put to death. After the marriage, Epitia experiences a strange change of heart, and does not wish to be responsible for her husband's death. She pleads with Massimiano that clemency is as great a virtue as justice, secures the release of Iuriste, and lives happily with him for many years.²

This novel of Giraldi Cinthio is the chief source of George Whetstone's *Historye of Promos and Cassandra*,³ published in two parts, consisting of five acts each, in 1578. The English play differs from Giraldi Cinthio's novel in at least one important respect; namely, that in the novel the Governor's order to execute Vieo is actually carried out, while in Whetstone's play Andrugio is spared by a merciful jailer, who substitutes another head for that of Andrugio, and successfully deceives both the sister and the Governor. These modifications have been generally ascribed to Whetstone.⁴

² In an article entitled *Shakespeare's Masz für Masz und die Geschichte von Promos und Cassandra*, published in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Weimar, 1878, XIII, 175, K. Foth mentions a number of non-literary versions of the same story. See also *Notes and Queries*, July, 1893.

³ Republished in *Shakespeare's Library*, vol. II, part II, London, 1875.

⁴ See K. Foth, *ibid.*, p. 169.

It has been well known that Giraldi Cinthio himself dramatized the novel under discussion in a play entitled *Epitia*, but not until 1890 was the suggestion made⁵ that certain divergences from the novel found in *Measure for Measure*, which agree in this respect with *Promos and Cassandra*, also exist in *Epitia*. This discovery of Bilancini deserves to be quoted here, since it seems to have been overlooked by the historians of the Elizabethan drama: "Non indegna di nota è una particolarità che ambedue le tragedie offrono, ma che nella novella non si trova: che cioè in *Misura per misura* come nell'*Epitia* il fratello della fanciulla non è ucciso, ma in sua vece vien mandato a lei il cadavere di un malfattore. Basta questo per concludere che lo Shakespeare debba aver conosciuto, oltre la novella, anche la tragedia del Giraldi? Io non so; accenno solo a questa somiglianza e lascio crederlo al Klein, il quale, poi,— caso curioso!—mentre nota tra le due tragedie altri raffronti accessori di nomi, trascura questo assai più importante di fatto." ⁶

Returning to *El Degollado*, the romantic incidents of the capture of Arnaldo and Celia create a different setting from that found in Giraldi's novel and in the three plays above mentioned. Arnaldo's offense is a murder which is morally justifiable. The Prince here plays the part of the Governor in the other versions. In *El Degollado*, however, the Prince is more merciful, and is responsible for the order to substitute the head of another man as evidence of Arnaldo's death. In *Epitia* and *Promos and Cassandra*, the jailer performs this merciful act on his own initiative, and in *Measure for Measure* this request is made by the Duke in disguise. In Giraldi's novel, *Epitia*, and *Promos and Cassandra*, the young girl actually sacrifices her honor to save her brother's life. This sacrifice is avoided in *Measure for Measure* by the substitution of Mariana for Isabella, and in *El Degollado* by the rather tardy repentance of the Prince. Arnaldo is a more courageous character than his counterpart in the other versions. He refuses to live at the price of Celia's honor, while in Giraldi's novel, *Epitia*, *Promos and Cassandra*, and *Measure for Measure*, we have the disagreeable scene of the brother begging his sister to save his life by the sacrifice of her virtue. In Giraldi's novel, *Epitia*, and

⁵ See Pietro Bilancini, *Giambattista Giraldi e la tragedia italiana nel sec. XVI*, Aquila, 1890, p. 89.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Promos and Cassandra the heroine not only marries her violator, but saves him from the death he so richly deserved. Judged from modern standards, a satisfactory solution is found only in Shakespeare and in Juan de la Cueva.

It is by no means certain that either Giraldi's novel or *Epitia* was the immediate source of *El Degollado*, and it is therefore difficult to determine to what an extent the construction of the plot was the work of the Spanish dramatist. The play is interesting as one of the best composed in Spain in the period shortly before the appearance of Lope de Vega, and because of the analogy its plot offers to the theme of *Measure for Measure*.

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CHARLES DICKENS: HIS READING

The enormous amount of reading matter accessible to Dickens makes it impossible to be precise in regard to what he read, except when we have his own statements, or evidence of the direct influence of writers upon him, or the information of his personal friend and biographer, Forster. Dickens had a personal acquaintance with practically all the leading literary men of his time as well as many of the lesser lights, and hence must have known much about their works. He does not, however, mention any direct knowledge of the writings of many, and we are thus left to infer such knowledge according to the law of probability.

In one of his numerous letters to Wilkie Collins, Dickens has given a fairly accurate statement about his formal instruction. In it he says that he "was born at Portsmouth on the seventh of February, 1812; that my father was in the Naval Pay Office; that I was taken by him to Chatham when I was very young, and lived and was educated there till I was twelve or thirteen, I suppose; that I was then put to a school near London, where (as at other places) I distinguished myself like a brick."¹ This account, however, should be somewhat amplified and corrected. His mother

¹ *Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by his sister-in-law and his oldest daughter, Chapman & Hall, London, 1882, two volumes, II, 43.